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I

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

THE Republic of Austria was, from the first, hampered by the lack of an Austrian national consciousness strong enough to infuse any organic unity into the life of its separate Provinces. This lack, which, more than any other single cause, was to prove the ultimate undoing of the Austrian Republic, lay deeply rooted in the Habsburg past. The Germans of Austria had not been impelled by adversity to develop that patriotism which had become so marked a characteristic of the Magyar race, and which was beginning to inspire, in varying degrees, the other peoples of the Empire. German-Austrian loyalty had been concentrated upon the Habsburgs, whose policy had been supranational. German Austrians had never formed a united national group. This was partly because class divisions were felt more acutely in German circles than among the Slav peoples. But apart from this, the centrifugal tendencies existing among them had been growing, if anything, more pronounced, in the decade before the war. Some groups were purely loyalist, while others were permeated in varying degrees with pan-Germanism. There was no unifying principle at work to draw them together.

While the Habsburg experiment in a supranational empire had continued, the German Austrians had found their rich reward, for it was through the medium of the German language and culture that the Habsburgs had exercised their heterogeneous rule.[1] With the break-up of the Empire, however, the German-Austrian administrators of the Habsburgs were left high and dry; and when the centripetal influence of the Imperial House was removed, the balance of power passed from the central Government to the Provinces. 'Austria' was a meaningless concept. It was Tyrol, Salzburg, Vorariberg,

[1] In the decades before the war, however, this practice of employing Germans as officials had been ever less rigidly adhered to, for the increasing national consciousness of the minority peoples in the Austrian half of the monarchy made essential the introduction of a certain proportion of officials conversant with the local languages, etc.

●175 etc., which profited by a great accretion of loyalty when the Habsburgs fell.

The psychological trend towards separatism was given further impetus by economic circumstances. Vienna and the industrial parts of Lower Austria had always been accustomed to obtain their provisions from all parts of the Empire. When the more distant sources of supply were cut off, German Austria became dependent on her own resources for food. As these were quite inadequate the industrial districts could only be kept from starvation by means of a central requisitioning system, which had to be introduced as early as 1916. This was bitterly resented by the food-producing Provinces, who had scarcely enough provisions to meet their own needs.[1] The resentment was the keener because of the divergence in outlook between the Social Democrats of Vienna and the Christian Socialists of the Provinces, a factor which was to be of immense significance in the history of the Austrian Republic. This divergence was not confined to politics in the ordinary sense of the term. It embraced every sphere of activity, and affected even the minutest details of daily life. The Christian Socialist and the Social Democrat lived in two different, and for the most part antagonistic, worlds.

The net result of these centrifugal tendencies was that provincial sentiment, always a latent force behind Habsburg patriotism, increased greatly in intensity during the last months of the war. And it became obvious that, if Austria was to exist at all as an independent State, the form of her constitution must be pronouncedly federal.

All parties were agreed that the constitution must be democratic in form. This general desire for democracy was partly occasioned by war-weariness. The peoples of the Empire wanted peace at any price. Their hearts had perhaps never been wholly in the war,[2] and, as economic distress increased,

[1] In May 1918, for instance, Dr. von Seidler was forced to agree that, for purposes of food supply, North Tyrol should be joined to Bavaria, and the German districts of Northern Bohemia to Saxony. (*The Times*, 6 May 1918.)

[2] Oscar Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 14–23. Also, Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau, *Die Katastrophe* (Wien, 1929).

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the discontent of the people with a government over which they could exercise virtually no control, increased with it. It came to be widely felt that an ambitious imperialistic foreign policy was responsible for the plight of the people. Men were, therefore, increasingly susceptible to the propaganda of the Allies, which was concentrated, particularly after the collapse of their Czarist ally, in representing the war as a conflict between the semi-feudal militaristic monarchies and the free democracies of the West. It was thought, also, that the Allies would be more ready to negotiate a comparatively favourable peace with Austria-Hungary if she repudiated the old autocratic régime. Moreover, Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, to which Austria with the other peoples of the Empire subscribed, necessitated a democratic state organization. Another reason for the strength of the democratic idea in German Austria was the growth in power and prestige of the Social Democratic party. There were various reasons for this. One was the stimulus of the ideas of the Russian revolution. Another was the fact that the unity, and therefore the strength, of the party was enhanced when, after the break-up of the Empire, questions of nationality ceased to divide it. Again, economic distress had embittered the working classes, who were therefore more disposed to listen to socialist teaching. And the number of workers had greatly increased as a result of the swollen war industries. At the same time inflation had undermined the economic position and power of the middle classes. Finally, the Austrian war organization, unsuccessful though it had proved to be, had accustomed people to a form of state socialism.[1]

The first years in the life of the new Republic were not happy ones. Terrible economic distress fostered the growth of extremist elements on both sides, thus serving to accentuate sharply the already existing class and party differences. The absolute dependence of Austria on economic assistance from the Allies necessitated the adoption of a foreign policy which the majority of Austrians disliked; and the control acquired

[1] Redlich, J., *Austrian War Government* (Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 123–36.

over the country by her creditors gave birth to the suspicion that government by the people for the people was synonymous with government by the Allies for the Allies.

The first election was held on 16 February 1919, one member of the National Assembly representing every 48,000 electors. 156 members were returned to the new Assembly, of whom 69 were Social Democrats, 63 Christian Socialists, 18 Pan-Germans, and 6 members of the *Landbund*. The first Republican cabinet consisted of 6 Social Democrats, headed by Chancellor Renner (who represented Austria at the Peace Conference), 5 Christian Socialists, and 4 non-party members. By the autumn of 1920, the political trend in Germany was markedly to the right, and Austria, now acutely sensitive to the German political situation, moved to the right also, exchanging a predominantly Social Democratic government for a Christian Socialist one.

The first Christian Socialist Mayr cabinet took office on 10 November 1920, and on 15 December Austria became a member of the League of Nations. But Mayr's League policy was gravely hampered by the continuance of *Anschluss* agitations, which he was unable to prevent. The weakness of his government was particularly unfortunate as the economic condition of the country was deteriorating rapidly and, as the temporary boom was over, unemployment was increasing by leaps and bounds. Strong measures were required. Mayr resigned on 1 June 1921, on the grounds that the *Anschluss* agitations had made his position impossible.

Schober succeeded him on 21 June, at the head of a cabinet comprising for the most part officials without pronounced party views.

The economic condition of the country now took a plunge downwards. The krone, which in July had stood at 110,000 to the pound, stood at 336,000 by August. The cost of living rose in two months by 124 per cent. Unemployment increased from 30,000 to 90,000, and, as the mark had by this time followed the krone, the German market was now lost.

Faced with this alarming situation Schober acted with resource and considerable courage. His ultimate aim was the

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launching of a loan by the Allies. But he realized that this was not likely to be forthcoming until Austria gave evidence of intending to help herself towards economic stability by every means at her disposal. *Anschluss* agitations proclaiming the impossibility of maintaining an independent State at all, and the refusal of the Social Democrats to agree to a policy of economy, the lurid stories of a starving Austria painted by international charitable societies in an endeavour to obtain funds to help her, and, finally, the huge loan proposed by Sir William Goode in 1920 as being the *sine qua non* of the rehabilitation of Austrian finances, frightened potentially friendly Governments who might in other circumstances have proffered help.

Schober and his Finance Minister, Gürtler, therefore embarked on the unpopular policy of self-help.

The Chancellor succeeded in negotiating a loan from Czechoslovakia, thus increasing his prestige in Paris and London. The pan-Germans, however, regarded the opening-up of normal and friendly relations with Czechoslovakia as sufficient reason for withdrawing their support from the Schober Government, although there was no longer any hope of reclaiming the Germans of Bohemia.

At home, Schober introduced bills reducing subsidies and increasing taxation, thus incurring the hostility of both Social Democrats and Christian Socialists. His inability to pass these measures, and to use credits to improve the condition of the country, led to his resignation on 24 May 1922. It also led to the growth of the conviction in Allied circles that it would be useless to attempt to assist Austria unless a rigid system of financial control was imposed on her.

On 24 May 1922 the Christian Socialist leader, Monsignor Seipel, formed a government. After a fruitless attempt to introduce a scheme of reform, he adopted a new policy. He sent a note to the London Conference saying that if the Allies would not help Austria they must take over its administration themselves. But as the Allies refused to be blackmailed, Seipel set off, on 20 August, on a tour.

After visiting Berlin and Prague he went to Verona where

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175 he met the Italian Minister, Schantzer. To him he proposed that, in return for assistance, Austria should be reduced to what would virtually be an Italian protectorate. Schantzer hesitated. In the meantime a storm of expostulation arose. In view of the *rapprochement* between Italy and Hungary, France considered that the absorption of a third state into the Italian sphere of influence would constitute a grave danger to the *status quo*.

Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia also feared for their safety, if separated by a solid block of territory under Italian influence. As a result of all this, the Convention of Geneva was signed on 4 October.

The first of the three protocols there negotiated guaranteed the political and economic independence of Austria, and her territorial integrity. By the second protocol Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy undertook to make Austria a loan of fifty million crowns. In the third protocol Austria agreed to put through a programme of financial reforms, and to accept control by a Commissioner-General appointed by the League.

Seipel was much criticized by the German Nationalists and the Social Democrats for submitting to foreign supervision. The latter believed that the situation could have been met by the imposition of a capital levy and that, as it was, the poorer classes would have to bear the brunt of the reforms. However, on 24 October the Protocol was accepted, and on 28 October a Reconstruction Law was passed. On 18 November inflation stopped.

Criticism of Seipel by the German Nationalists became less vociferous as time went on, for the German mark was falling rapidly, and Germany was groaning under the burden of reparations and the French invasion of the Ruhr. And opposition from the Social Democrats was to some extent silenced by the advent of Mussolini to power in Italy on 29 October.

When Seipel resigned on 12 November 1924 considerable progress had been made towards financial and economic stability, though Dr. Zimmermann, the League Commissioner,

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still complained of extravagance in certain directions, as for instance, the number of State employees still kept on.

The Seipel Government had been, however, handicapped by opposition from the Provinces as well as from the Viennese Social Democrats. Partly as a consequence of this experience Seipel himself became increasingly centralist in outlook. And it was no doubt in some measure owing to his influence that the constitutional reforms of 1925 were centralist in character.[1]

Although in July 1925 the Layton Rist report had struck a more hopeful note as far as the economic position of the country went, internal unrest was undoubtedly increasing steadily. *Anschluss* agitations, temporarily abandoned because of bad economic conditions in Germany, began again. The members of the Ramek Cabinet, which held office from November 1924 until October 1925, were divided in their views on this question. In any case the Cabinet could not, of course, have given the movement official support, whatever its views, as most countries made the cessation of *Anschluss* agitations the *sine qua non* of trade agreements.

On 26 October 1926 Seipel again became Chancellor, and continued as head of the Government until April 1929. It was during this period that the turning-point in Austrian politics came.

During Seipel's first term of office Vaugoin, his Minister for War, had reorganized the regular army and purged it to a large extent of its socialist proclivities. In consequence of this the *Republikanische Schutzbund* had been founded on 12 April 1923, as the party guard of the Social Democrats, who felt that their position was likely to be threatened by the advancing forces of reaction. The Christian Socialists did not, at that time, make any special efforts to form a rival organization, feeling, no doubt, that their interests were well represented in the regular army by Vaugoin. Their attitude towards the Social Democrats hardened, however, after the rioting in Vienna in July 1927.

The immediate cause of the riots was the publication of the

[1] Kelsen, *Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts*, vol. xv (1927), pp. 51–101.

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● 175 verdict in the Schattendorf murder trial.[1] The situation which arose was aggravated by unforeseen circumstances. For one thing, the Social Democrats did not, on this occasion, organize an orderly demonstration as was their custom. The workers, therefore, left the factories on their own initiative, and surged in disorganized groups into the centre of the city, where they eventually succeeded in setting fire to the Justiz Palast. The police appear to have lost their heads and fired on onlookers as well as rioters, causing unnecessary loss of life, and thereby inflaming the passions of the demonstrators to such an extent that their own leaders could not control them.

This incident greatly embittered the working classes, who professed themselves appalled at the callousness shown by the Government in quelling the riots. On the other hand, Christian Socialist circles thought they saw in the rioting the incipient danger of Bolshevism, and became, in consequence, very much more disposed to support the *Heimwehr* and similar semi-fascist organizations.

The antagonism between Monsignor Seipel on the one hand, and the Social Democrat leaders on the other, became more bitter than ever before as, rightly or wrongly, the Social Democrats believed that Seipel had been mainly responsible for what they considered to be the unnecessarily brutal methods employed in putting down the riots.[2] They therefore gave positive encouragement to their supporters to leave the Church, knowing that this would be by far the most effective weapon against Seipel.

It was after the July rioting of 1927 that the *Heimwehr* movement first began to play an important part in Austrian politics.

[1] In the previous January several persons had been shot by *Heimwehr* men in the course of a clash between *Heimwehr* and Social Democrat demonstrators at Schattendorf, a small village in the Burgenland. The case was a complicated one, and it was found to be very difficult to assess the blame fairly between the two contending parties. The *Heimwehr* men concerned were eventually acquitted. This confirmed the Viennese Social Democrats in the belief which, rightly or wrongly, was coming to be widely held, that it was impossible for Social Democrats to get a fair hearing in the courts.

[2] Seipel unfortunately remarked afterwards, when the ring leaders were on trial, that no mercy should be shown them. This expression, '*Keine Milde*', was always remembered against him.

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This organization had sprung up in the immediate post-war period, as a self-help movement among the peasantry in several of the Provinces, notably in Carinthia.[1] The various groups were generally led by the local nobility, lawyers, and school-teachers of the villages and the small country towns. These groups had no definite aims beyond the general intention of protecting peasant and other property against the depredations of the Yugoslavs and the 'Reds'.

It is probable that the movement would have lapsed once law and order was established, had it not been fostered by Seipel and right-wing Christian Socialist groups. As it was, the *Heimwehr*, after 1927, went from strength to strength, until it finally disintegrated before the rising tide of the Nazis in 1932.

The seeds of discord were present in it from the first. On the one hand there were the remnants of the pre-war German Nationalists, the intelligentsia of the country towns and villages, the school-teachers, shopkeepers, and small industrialists; on the other hand there were the old ruling classes, who were largely backed by the higher clergy (Prince Starhemberg is reported to have described the *Heimwehr* as "un movement religieux pour la protection non seulement de la patrie, mais aussi de la foi catholique traditionelle et de la culture chrétienne contre les ravages du libéralisme"), the big industrialists, and, later, by the Italians. The former group became ever more Nazi in outlook, as the Nazi movement grew in Germany. The other and smaller groups were not Nazi but monarchist in sympathy. However, before 1930 none of the groups in the *Heimwehr* movement was exclusive in personnel or aims.

It may be said that by 1927, when the *Heimwehr* began to arm its members on a large scale, both wings had ceased to be in any way representative of the peasants. Indeed, there seems reason to believe that the majority of the peasants, much as they disliked 'Red Vienna', viewed the fascist proclivities

[1] C. A. Macartney, 'The Armed Formations of Austria', *Journal of the Institute of International Affairs*, vol. viii, 1929. Also Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, *Farewell, Austria* (Cassell, 1938), pp. 113–29.

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of the *Heimwehr* leaders with even greater misgiving.[1] It was said that peasants who took part in *Heimwehr* demonstrations were frequently forced to do so against their will.[2]

In the years following 1927 there was an ever-increasing number of incidents between Social Democrats and *Heimwehr* demonstrators. Indeed, whenever the two groups arranged demonstrations, fighting broke out. And other groups on the Christian Socialist side, anxious to have their interests represented in what everybody came to feel would be the inevitable armed struggle for power, began forming their own paramilitary bodies.[3]

It must in justice be remarked that the party leaders of the Social Democrats appear to have been very much more acutely conscious of the danger inherent in these developments than were their rivals. They made repeated efforts in the years after 1927 to persuade the Christian Socialists to agree to disarm. Christian Socialist counter-proposals were, however, always coupled with demands which the Social Democrats felt they could not accept, such as cessation of opposition in Parlia-

[1] Groups in the Bauernbund, one of the largest of the peasant organizations, became increasingly critical of *Heimwehr* aims and methods: see article of Schumy, their Vice-president, in *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, 'Man kann nicht Demokrat sein u. gleichzeitig den Parlamentarismus glatt verwerfen', etc. (quoted in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 26 August 1929). 'Solange die Heimwehrbewegung ihre Hauptstütze im Bauerntum hatte u. die Vertreter der Bauernschaft ihr Wort entscheidend in die Wagschale werfen konnten, war auch nie von einem Angriff, von einem Marsch nach Wien, die Rede. Diese Zieländerungen sind erst zu tage getreten als sich der Einfluss der ehemaligen Aristokraten, Generäle u. Stabsoffiziere in der Heimwehr über Gebuhr erhob. Nun waren aber gerade diese Herren nicht fähig uns in eine neue bessere Zeit zu führen; denn wir können uns nicht erninnern dass sie sich in den Tagen ihrer Macht unserer besonders angenommen hätten.' (Article in the *Bauern Zeitung*, the organ of *Bauernbund* in Upper Austria, quoted in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 25 August 1929.)

[2] 'Demonstrations' is perhaps a misleading term. Both the *Heimwehr* and the *Republikanische Schutzbund* were accustomed to use rifles, bayonets, hand-grenades, tear-gas bombs, and similar weapons. The *Heimwehr* had machine-guns and batteries of artillery. They were organized as a fighting force, and it was their custom to establish base hospitals, field-kitchens, etc., when they held their 'demonstrations'. (See the account in the *Manchester Guardian* of 8 October 1928, of the big Wiener Neustadt demonstration.)

[3] For instance, the *Sturmscharen* of Schuschnigg, a militant Catholic youth body, and the *Freiheitsbund* of Kunschak, a left-wing Christian Socialist working-class organization.

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ment.[1] The intransigence of the right-wing parties was probably due to the fact that they were well aware that they were in reality very much stronger than their rivals, and would almost certainly win if it came to a trial of strength.

The internal situation in Austria grew ever more chaotic in the years 1929–34. Obstruction by the Social Democrats, and the growing impatience of the *Heimwehr* and the right-wing groups with the forms of democratic government, made the working of any kind of parliamentary system increasingly difficult.[2]

The position further deteriorated in the autumn of 1930, for the November elections revealed, for the first time, a split in the ranks of the once united bourgeois front. Schober then organized a National Economic Bloc, consisting of the German Nationalists, the moderate Christian Socialists, and the *Landbund*.[3] Seipel and the clericals, with the Vienna and Lower Austrian *Heimwehr* under Major Fey, together formed an anti-Marxist front.

This split in the bourgeois ranks was viewed with favour by the moderate groups, who were glad to cut loose the extremist elements. But in fact it heralded the beginning of the end, for it meant that, in future, right-wing Governments had to be formed by uncertain coalitions, and were therefore tempted to look for support to extra-parliamentary bodies.

The comparative quiet of 1931 proved to be the lull before the storm. The *Heimwehr* movement was greatly weakened by quarrels among its leaders, and, as *Heimwehr* roots among the peasantry were shallow, little was heard of it. Attention was,

[1] An important, though numerically small, section of the Christian Socialists, led by Kunschak, continued, however, to work for conciliation with the Social Democrats. In the pages of their paper, the *Weltblatt*, they pointed out, over and over again, the dangers of intransigence. But Kunschak fought a losing battle against the extremists of his party, and in May 1929 he resigned from its vice-chairmanship, a post which he had long held, after defeat on his conciliation policy.

[2] On 18 May 1930, the *Heimwehr* leaders published the famous Korneuberger Programme, by which they pledged themselves to make an end of parliamentary democracy and the party system, and to institute a form of fascist government, using force if necessary to achieve their aims.

[3] With the exception of the branches in Salzburg and Upper Austria. These remained independent.

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175 moreover, diverted to the project of the Customs Union with Germany, in the first months of the year.

In 1932 the storm broke, and the Nazi party emerged for the first time as a strong force in Austrian politics. The *Landbund* and the old German Nationalist party were quickly swallowed up. The *Heimwehr* movement split in two, the members of the larger group becoming openly or covertly partisans of the Nazis. The peasants and the members of the moderate wing of the Christian Socialists turned in despair to Dr. Dolfuss as the one man who might save them.

Dr. Dolfuss did succeed in evoking, for the first time, the faint beginnings of an Austrian national consciousness. But his Government was too weak to withstand simultaneous attacks from the left and from the right. After having dissolved a parliament which had become unworkable in March 1933, he found himself confronted with the necessity of coming to terms either with the Social Democrats or with the *Heimwehr*, now powerfully supported by Italy. He chose the latter course. The direct result was the crushing of the Social Democrats in February 1934, and the end of the Austrian experiment in democratic government.

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adventurous chance of its realization: Salzburg should become the Rome of the North.

During his 26 years of government this religiously worldly Archbishop changed the Salzburg of the Middle Ages, the narrow and picturesquely winding streets of which offered dangerous hiding places for disease and plague, into a proud city of magnificent open squares. The Princely Residence, the Chapter-House, the Royal Stables, the Cloister Walk and the renaissance Chapel of St. Sebastian, the pleasure palace of Altenau-Mirabell, and the re-planning of the Cathedral Square are all stages of his great building activities.

Music played its own part in the splendid court ceremonies, the Salzburger Hofkapelle being founded in 1591. The composing of religious music for the Cathedral and the compositions for festive concerts attracted German as well as Italian composers.

That which Wolf Dietrich was unable to complete was continued by Marcus Sittikus. The foundations of the new Cathedral were laid according to the plans of Solari. The pleasure castle of Hellbrunn was built and the stone theatre in the extensive game preserves. At the same time that the "Defenestration" of the Imperial Envoy from a window in Prague, 1618,

Hellbrunn.

great vivid rainbows were painted against the paling violet of the skies, perfect in form and of impressive grandeur. The spot where they rose out of the soil was clearly visible. On the square before the Cathedral a seraphic ray of multicoloured fire shot up, curving joyously into the heavens, to descend to earth at the extreme edge of the plain where it joins the mountains. Below this rainbow again, starting from the roof of the Bürger hospital, the second arch bent in proud submission.

These two open gateways to the West rose sharply defined over the landscape. Little birds formed a living garland about the multicoloured double doors, fluttering, wind-swept, over the nectar-soaked plain, wheeling, returning, and vanishing noiselessly in the skies.

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A description of the sights of the city alone would fill a book, many volumes or a whole library. The story could start in the cloisters of the first Salzburg Christians in Petersfriedhof, going on through the period of the rule of

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Werfen Castle.

175 the bishops, the peasant revolts and days of baroque glory to the rapid change in history after the last of the archbishops, Prince Colloredo, had fled "abroad" (meaning Vienna), to abdicate there. The Duke of Toscana succeeded to the Province, but he soon exchanged it for the rulership of Würzburg, Salzburg thereby becoming Austrian territory until, soon afterwards, it was given to Bavaria by Napoleon. Four years afterwards it was "repatriated" at the cost of money, or rather of land, namely the left bank of the Salzach, remaining from this time onwards a Crown land of the Monarchy and finally becoming the modern Austrian province.

133 All this and much more the swift green Salzach saw, this river which rises in the western corner of the Province, high above on the Salzachgeier and traverses the land like the veins of a transparent leaf. Following the course of the Salzach upwards from Salzburg, one soon reaches the Lueg Pass, and on emerging on the other side of the tunnel one usually finds entirely different weather. The cloudy sky which one has left behind is here clear. Glorious mountain air comes down from the Hochkönig which, with its glacier, the "Übergossene Alm" (the "Drowned Field") is some nine thousand feet high. To make the ski descent from Hochkönig to Werfen, a run of over 2400 yards, is a rare experience for sportsmen. On the opposite side the Tennen-

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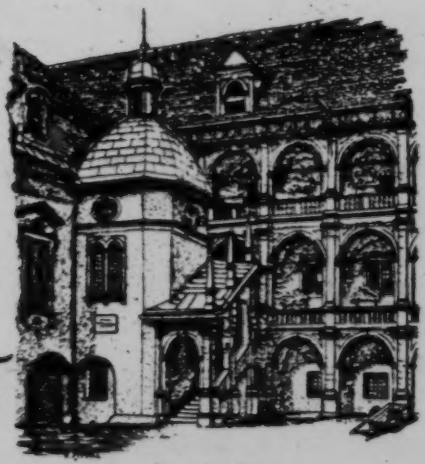

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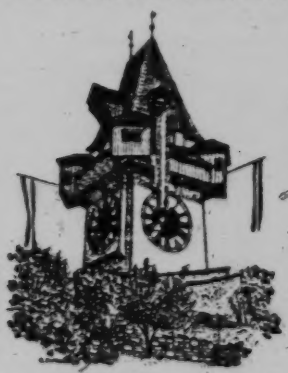
Graz, Diet Hall.

turned up in the fields by the ploughs of the peasants, now decorate the walls of many a building. On the towers and churches, especially of Mooskirchen, Stallhofen, Piber and Köflach they have been pre- as an indelible greeting from distant centuries when the world-wide power of the Roman Empire allowed our Homeland to share in its civilisation and culture.

Long after grass and the wilderness had erased the traces of Roman Noric civilisation, and a new way of life, Christianity and order had come to the Province of Salzburg, the castle of Deutschlandsberg became a centre of Salzburg planning and working. Later on, but of no less importance for development and trade, the nowadays so quiet town of Piber grew to be a far-reaching centre of culture when the house of Eppenstein gave their property to the Benedictines of St. Lamprecht. Their priory, in the parish of Piber, was a coveted living which once even boasted of a bishop. The Bailiff of Piber, however, taxed the lands of the Kainachtal down to the last peasant farm in the mountains. A circle of fortified castles guarded the roads and byways leading to Upper Styria—Haunstein, Klingenstein, the Primaresburg near Lankowitz, over the ruins of which the forest of Franziskanerkogel grows, Leonrod in the Gössnitz Valley, nowadays popularly known as Höllerrock Castle, Krems, where the keep still towers steeply above the Schlossberg, and the proudest of them all, Ober-Voitsberg, in whose shadow the inhabitants have enjoyed the privileges of citizens of a princely city ever since the time of Duke Friedrich the Handsome (1367). For many centuries life was mainly a peaceful exchange



Graz, Clock Tower.

of peasant labour and civic industry, the wine carriers from Hungary and the lowlands bringing greetings from far-off lands. Occasionally great nobles who broke their journeys had brought the exciting atmosphere of the big world. Like shafts of lightning historical moments lit up this forest-hidden land when the Turks came to trouble even the lonely vicarage on the Pack, or later, when the French marched in via Eibiswald and Preding. After the modest deposits of iron ore had been exhausted, the valuable timber caught the eye of the iron-masters. The streams drove the wheels of the hammers in the scythe workshops. The manor house to which one of the largest, the Tunner-hammer, belonged, still stands today amidst the smoke and noise of the colliery. Ever since Archduke Johann drew up with his own hands the plans for the construction of the railway line from Graz to Köflach in the fifties of the last century, and had them put into effect despite obstinate opposition, West Styria has become more aware of the vigorous life of modern times.

EAST STYRIA. Four main roads give access from the chief town to the rich fruit-bearing country of East Styria. Around this territory winds the River Mur, sweeping southwards from the sharp angle it makes at Bruck, and then eastwards to leave Austria at Radkersburg, forming a living barrier along the boundaries of East Styria.

The white ribbon of the first road runs past Maria Trost, climbing the hill within view of the massive Schöckel, descending to Weiz where it forks, one branch leading to the northern hill country, while the main road runs dead north, right into the heart of Peter Rosegger's "Waldheimat" ("Wooded Homeland"). The second highway is that famous

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one which from its earliest days has been known by its name of the Ries. Its asphalt surface climbs steeply to the high road, affording sweeping views from the inn-benches which date from the days of coach-travel. Bordered by forest and meadow, it descends gently into the Raab Valley. From Gleisdorf, where a branch leads off through Feldbach and Fehring to Hungary and another to the far-distant territory of Hartberg, its main branch continues as the Ungarnstrasse (road to Hungary) through Fürstenfeld to the Province of Burgenland.

The third road wanders towards the East Styrian hills, running past St. Marein-on-the-Pickelbach down into the Raab Valley. The fourth road over the Hühnerberg is the last in the network of roads which serves the quiet peasant life in the valleys between the Raab and the Mur.

These roads all vary, passing over hills and through valleys, past wooded mountains and vineyards linked together by fertile fields. The further east one travels along the valleys, the more they widen out as the space between the ranges of hills broadens until, in the distance, they remind one of the nearby Hungarian Plain. In the same measure that the countryside loses the shelter of the mountains do the human habitations grow together, isolated farms gradually giving place to hamlets, villages and market towns. The farms which in the middle districts consist of rambling house, cattle stalls and outbuildings, loosely grouped around one another as the terrain dictates, now move their components nearer and nearer together until on the other side of the bend in the Raab they become compact rectangles within which man, beast and the fruits of the soil are collected into one homestead.

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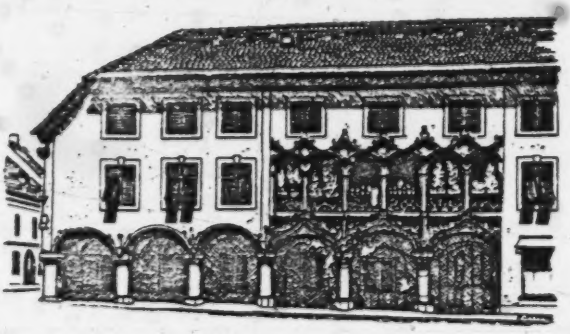
It is not hard to discover evidence of the changing fortunes of the Province. Tombstones have been found in remote parts of the forests with inscriptions in Roman letters erected to the memory of Celtic aborigines. By the roadside are overgrown tumuli which the peasants awefully refer to as "heathen graves". If one is to believe local legends, great princes are buried in some of them—perhaps even Attila himself, the King of the Huns. Later the Avars overran the country, destroying the deserted homesteads of the Romans and their culture, and driving

their slaves, the Slavs, before them with their whips. After the year 800 A.D. when Charlemagne had broken the tyranny of the Avars, there came monks from Salzburg to preach Christian doctrines and with them Bavarian peasants. But soon the Magyar invaders swept in to interrupt the peaceful work of these settlers among the natives. Only after the Battle of Lechfeld was it resumed. Then, with the vigour of the adolescent Western world as a spur, a civilisation based on the hard work of a simple peasantry grew throughout the centuries into that unobtrusive, modest culture which has survived all the hard tests of the past. In those early days the villages grew up on river banks and in sheltered corners between hills, overshadowed and protected by the castles of the ruling knights; the Riegersburg, which crowns the steep slopes of the Felsberg, is a fine example of the latter. Protection from the danger which always threatened from the East was afforded by the frontier towns of Friedberg, Hartberg, Fürstenfeld and Radkersburg. The burghers who lived in them and in the market-towns, proud of their social position, yet in close contact with the country-folk, kept the latter in touch with the developments of the age and brought to them profitable trade.

The Raab, the chief river of East Styria, flows broad, sluggish and dark from the districts where the villages melt into fertile fields and the storks nest on roof-tops and chimneys. As it hurries through Passail the river is still an immature mountain stream. From this remote and pleasant market-town Peter Engelbrecht once found his way to the Imperial Court in order to teach Latin grammar to Maximilian, later the first emperor of this name. Further on, below the old Stubenberg castle of Stubegg lies Arzberg, where, as the name suggests, lead ore (with a silver content) was mined.



Bruck-on-the-Mur, Kornmesserhaus.

Gritsch, Doiber and Oberdrosen are examples, while Windisch-Minihof has preserved its eloquent name unchanged. 103

Minihof—does it not sound as if this village had been named after one of its favourite inhabitants? On Sunday, when the women and girls of the Burgenland go to church, many of them in the traditional and proudly preserved national costumes which differ from village to village, more than one pretty girl, whether Mini, Kathi or Liesl, attracts attention.

In the Province there are about half a dozen Minihofs. But the name means nothing other than Münichhof, Monks' Dwelling. The monks, whose memory has thus been recorded did much to further the development of the Province.

About 800 A.D., Charlemagne defeated the Avars and established the Pannonian Mark, which included the best part of the Burgenland territory on both sides of the Raab and the adjoining strips of Lower Austria as far as the slopes of the Wiener-wald. This became the nucleus of Austria. The monasteries of Salzburg, Krems-münster and Mattsee, together with those of Passau and Freising, were given vast estates in the Burgenland by the Carolingian rulers and attracted settlers. The ruins of Scarabantia and Sabaria, which had the appearance of an "öden Burg" ("desolate castle"), lying about like "Steine am Anger" ("stones on the slope") then awoke to new life. Purbach and Donnerskirchen between the Leithagebirge and the Neusiedler Lake, Lutzmannsburg in the district of Oberpullendorf, close to the Hungarian frontier, and Pernau, further to the South just the other side of the frontier, all date from this time. So does Minihof, the "Hof", or residence, of the monks. 175 103

Let us here recall St. Martin, the most venerable of all the famous sons of the Burgenland. Born in 316 A.D. in the little town of Sabaria, he became through his efforts as Bishop of Tours the patron saint of the Franks. Reverence for his name was brought back to the Burgenland and to Pannonia through people who settled

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Mörbisch.

133 Austrian alpine foothills, to which it by its character belongs. Sandwiched in between, on the upper Pinka, one finds a living witness to Burgenland history in the Magyar enclave of Oberwart.

175 563 The Magyars came to Pannonia about 896 A.D. In 907 A.D. they destroyed the Bavarian armies near Pressburg, thus putting an end to the Frankish-Bavarian Pannonian Mark. For half a century hordes of Hungarian horsemen overran Europe, spreading out even to France and Italy. The Battle of Lechfeld in 955 A.D. put an end to this, and the Magyars then tried to secure themselves a permanent home in the Danube Basin. Their "Westwall" was the impenetrable forests of southern Burgenland, and, further northwards, the swamps of Rabnitz. The valleys in the forest belt were defended by barricades and troops.

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Oberwart.

In one of these "Warte" or outposts, which is today the Hungarian-speaking village of Oberwart, the Magyar garrison maintained itself for 1000 years. Here the Magyar origin of the population is still evident in their speech and picturesque dress.

133 529 There are traces of almost every period of Burgenland history in the district of Oberwart. The most valuable heritage is that left by the extinct volcanoes at Tatzmannsdorf, a healing centre for heart complaints and feminine ailments—an Austrian version of Franzensbad.

135 Geologists will find much to interest them in these parts. The brown-coal mines of Tauchen, the antimony and sulphur-stone deposits at Schlaining, the iron ore which was mined even in Celtic-Illyrian times at Eisenzicken

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ROADS AND RAILWAYS.

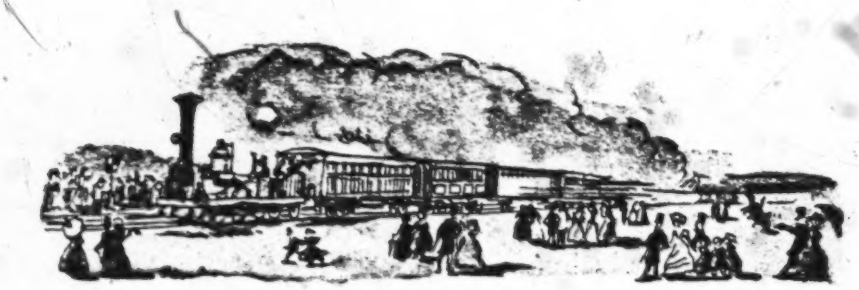
The roads of Austria are as ancient as her history, dating back to the Roman military and posting roads which followed the line of frontier fortifications right through the country. In their Provinces the Romans usually built flint or gravel roads with a uniform width from three to three and a half metres which were kept in good order by soldiers.

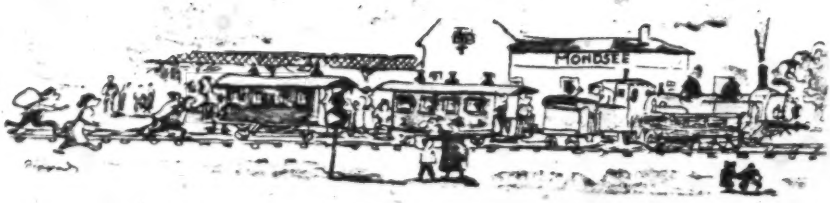
The Roman roads, based on surprisingly exact knowledge of the territory—in the alps they were all boldly conceived crossings via alpine passes—survived the flood of the barbarian invasions, forming Austria's principal highroads until well on into the Middle Ages.

Although very few ecclesiastical and secular buildings were erected during this period, and the nobility and burghers created flourishing towns, the roads were sadly neglected and their condition became desperate. The apparent contradiction in progress can be explained by the political situation and general conditions. Most people lived within the fortified areas—the castles, markets and towns in which even countryfolk were forced to take refuge in the constantly recurring periods of war. When danger from the Turks became a constant threat for Austria during two centuries, the roads were still more neglected, partly, perhaps, with the intention of making it more difficult to march from village to village and to penetrate into the interior of the country.

Thus until late into the 17th century the roads were allowed to degenerate into dirt tracks, without any attempt to conform them. Following the lie of the land, they ran uphill and down dale, unplanned and unregulated. The few existing fords were at the mercy of the highest floods and there were almost no ditches at the side of the roads. Such roads were naturally only negotiable for vehicles in fine and dry weather and it was a work of art to bring a load intact to its destination. A special class of freight carriers grew up who created a monopoly for themselves. Travellers as well as merchants were very much at the mercy of the skill as well as the morals of the carriers.

The great change in politics created by the victory over the Turks and the new urge to build which reached its apex in the blooming of the baroque period, soon brought about a complete alteration of these conditions. Under the Emperor Karl VI, Vienna became a great European traffic and trading centre. Step by step economic road planning was carried through. In the forefront stood the need of link with the Mediterranean harbour of Trieste, so the "Kaiserstrasse" was built. The road over the Semmering Pass took only 48 days to complete. At the same time the





Salzkammergut Local Railway.

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building of more roads from Vienna to Brunn, Olmutz, Iglau and Prague was started.

Hand in hand with the construction of a modern network of roads went the development of the mail service. When Napoleon made preparations for the conquest of Europe, the way had quite literally been prepared for him.

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When steam instead of horse power began to make the wheels go round in the 19th century and the first engines crawled puffing through the country—in short, when technical development revolutionised all previous ideas, covering the countryside with a dense network of railway lines, Austria took the lead among continental countries in railroad construction.

In 1837 the first train left Vienna in the direction of Wagram. By 1841 there were already 350 kilometres of railway line in use. The year 1848 saw work started on the daringly planned Semmering Railway, with its succession of tunnels and viaducts, the world's first existing attempt to build a mountain railway. The Westbahn was built in 1858 and the Ostbahn completed in 1868. Since that time Austria's key position in the transport system of Central Europe has been undisputed. Seen goods trains from Germany, Bohemia and Poland, heavily laden with coal and industrial products of all kinds were rolling between the Brenner and the Semmering on their way over the Alps to the Mediterranean, bringing back in return southern fruits, rice, fish and silk. Southern France and Switzerland sent costly finished products in exchange for grain, cattle fodder and pigs from Galicia, Hungary, Serbia and the Ukraine.

The Arlberg Express has long been the backbone of the European transport system, collecting passengers from the West, from the Channel ports, from Brussels and Paris, from Zurich and Geneva and carrying them down through the gateway of Austria to the Balkans—to Budapest, Bukarest, Belgrade, Sofia, Athens and Constantinople.

For the lover of the beauties of this world a journey through Austria is itself an unforgettable experience. It is difficult to select for mention any of the countless scenic beauties to be seen from the Austrian railways without slighting the rest. There is the Mittenwald line near Innsbruck, the line by which one passes from Salzburg to Carinthia through the Valley of Gastein, the ascent of the Arlberg and the Brenner, the narrow-gauge Salzkammergut local railway, the cross-country connection from Attnang-Puchheim by way of Gmunden, Ischl and Bad Aussee to Salzthal, the Ennstal stretch, the Pyhrn railway, the line through the Styrian mountains, the views from the line which cuts through the mountains to Mariazell and the innumerable mountain and cable railways. Here we must stop, otherwise it will become just